

Hawaii in a Nutshell—E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Haimatochare*

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In England in the early part of 1776, preparations were made for Cook's third expedition into the Pacific—the expedition which was to bring him unexpectedly to Hawaii, to his acquaintance with the youthful Kamehameha, and ultimately to his death. In the same year, the third child of an eccentric couple in the town of Königsberg on the Baltic Sea was launched on his stormy voyage through life: "Hoffmann of the Tales," writer, composer, music critic, conductor, theater director, graphic artist, lawyer and Prussian civil servant, was born on January 24, 1776.¹

Forty-three years later in Hawaii, which by then was wide open to the influence of foreigners, Kamehameha died, his son Liholiho succeeded him as the ruler of the island kingdom and the *kapu* system was abolished. This eventful year was 1819. In Berlin in the same year, Hoffmann was working feverishly on several literary projects without neglecting his legal and social activities. One of the tales he then was writing and to which he gave the puzzling title *Haimatochare*² was so small in size and in interest that it has remained relatively unnoticed by Hoffmann readers and scholars and little attention has been paid to his unusual choice of setting and characters. Though the tale was written and published in 1819, the translation presented in this volume of *The Hawaiian Journal of History* seems to be the first attempt at an English version, and though the plot of Hoffmann's epistolary miniature involves the adventures of two scientists on the island of Oahu *Haimatochare* has never been mentioned among Hawaiian fiction. The purpose of the translation and of this article is to introduce *Haimatochare* to readers who would like to

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find out how Hawaii got into the works of one of the most fascinating writers of the Romantic era in Germany.

Haimatochare is unique in its form among Hoffmann's works because it consists exclusively of letters, without any discursive intrusion by the author. As far as the content is concerned, Hoffmann's short introductory address to the reader not only sustains the author's poetic pretense of authenticity of the letters, it also points to the source of his information, and in addition it invites the historically-minded reader to compare Hoffmann's fiction with facts related to Hawaiian history, though Hoffmann himself was "somewhat scornful of source-mongers."³ By and large these facts were conveyed to Hoffmann by Chamisso,⁴ the botanist and poet who accompanied the second Russian expedition into the Pacific on the ship *Rurik*, commanded by Otto von Kotzebue.

Hoffmann met Chamisso in the fall of 1814 when the former returned to Berlin to resume his legal career which had been disrupted by the Napoleonic Wars. In a group of intellectuals and artists they collaborated on literary projects until Chamisso left on the *Rurik* expedition in 1815. They resumed their companionship in Berlin in November 1818.

While Chamisso was on the *Rurik* expedition he spent several weeks in Hawaii [November 21 to December 14, 1816 and September 27 to October 14, 1817] but his sojourns never stimulated him to write any fiction about Hawaii or to include a Hawaiian theme in his poetry.⁵ Immediately after his return from the voyage, however, he completed a series of scientific essays which were incorporated as *Bemerkungen und Ansichten*⁶ [Remarks and Opinions] in the official *Rurik* expedition report by Otto von Kotzebue and published in 1821.⁷

Chamisso entertained his circle of friends, Hoffmann among them, with personal impressions from his voyage, and the extent of his conversations can be estimated from his *Tagebuch* [Journal] which, however, was not published until 1836.⁸ Hoffmann, easily stimulated, but factually oriented and thorough in his background research, was intrigued by what he heard from Chamisso and he began to create a fictional voyage of his own. For this work he made use of Chamisso's documentation, including the botanical and ethnographic collections which he had brought back from the expedition. Chamisso had also just acquired the works of several explorers and scientists:

[In London in June 1818, Mr. Hunnemann] assisted me in the belated acquisition of all those instruments, books and maps which I needed during the expedition but which were not available to me at that time. Thus I became equipped for the way home in a manner in which I should have been for the way abroad.⁹

Within a few weeks after Chamisso's arrival in Berlin, Hoffmann had worked out a plan for a new tale and in February, 1819, he sent an

outline to Chamisso about the opusculé which was to become *Haimatochare*. He also requested numerous details:

Good Morning,

The story of the louse is supposed to be presented in a very short form as a series of letters.

Conditions:

1. Two naturalists [Englishmen, I suppose] are on a ship which is being readied for an expedition [possibly to the South Seas—or have you a different suggestion?]
2. One of the naturalists finds an interesting insect by chance on some island. Envy and hatred of the other! An exchange of letters ensues—challenge—duel—both are killed. The main thing is to keep the reader to the last moment in the belief that the fight was over the possession of a young girl, a charming island beauty. The crucial moment occurs when the object of the fight is found in a cardboard box at the place of the duel. Considering these conditions I would like to ask you for the following details:
 - a. What place can be the destination of the expedition?
 - b. What is the name of the most noteworthy rare insect and on which island will it be found? I think the louse should be of the aphid species—or whatever those little things are called. That is necessary because the naturalist is supposed to make his discovery in the woods in the open wilderness. That setting will motivate a sentimental description of the moment when he finds the island girl/creature, and at the end this will resolve itself in a burlesque manner.—It would be marvellous if the name of the insect could be mistaken for the name of a South Sea island girl, thus increasing the mystification of the reader.—If you could supply me with a typical name for the ship and with a few really good English proper names for the characters that would be even better. I need the names for two naturalists and for the ship's captain who writes the report explaining how his naturalists had been duelling with pistols somewhere near the harbor, how both were killed and how the unfortunate object of the fight had been lowered into the sea, etc.

Hoffmann

February 28, 1819¹⁰

No written answer by Chamisso to these and other requests from Hoffmann have been found, but he obviously supplied all the information needed, not only based on his own experiences but on those of earlier voyagers to Hawaii. On May 21, 1819, Hoffmann sent his final known request for *Haimatochare* materials to Chamisso asking him for the "rank and title of the commandant at Port Jackson who ordered the preparation of the expedition to Oahu and to whom the ship's captain has to address his report."¹¹ A month later, in June 1819, *Haimatochare* was published in the periodical *Der Freimüthige*.¹²

Chamisso's *Tagebuch* gives an insight into the existence of scientists who went on expeditions to the Pacific and it also sheds light on the genesis of the rivalry theme in Hoffmann's *Haimatochare*. First Chamisso introduces his two colleagues separately and then he contrasts them, indicating the deteriorating morale on board.

In Copenhagen I reported to the captain aboard the *Rurik* on August 9, 1815. Along with me came Lieutenant Wormskiöld and he too was accepted by Captain von Kotzebue,

apparently because von Kotzebue noticed the great harmony which prevailed between Wormskiold and myself.¹³

On board also was Ivan Ivanovich Eschscholtz, the ship's surgeon who was likewise a naturalist and entomologist. He was a young doctor from Dorpat, somewhat reserved but noble and as good as gold.¹⁴

Eschscholtz and I were able to study, make observations and gather new specimens in complete harmony. There was always an open exchange of materials and ideas between us. As soon as one had made a discovery he would call the other to witness and to share. I have to say that it was different with Wormskiold. He preferred, as it is frequently the case among scientists, a state of envious rivalry to the cooperative relationship which I had suggested to him and which prevailed between Eschscholtz and myself.

Nothing resembling the catastrophe depicted in *Haimatochare* befell the rivalling scientists on the *Rurik*, but Chamisso was frustrated by the mere presence of Wormskiold.

I remember looking to the desolate bare rocks of Staaten Island [near Cape Horn] and almost wished to be taken in a little boat away from the *Rurik* and abandoned in that wintry isolation just to be relieved of his [Wormskiold's] torturing presence.¹⁵

Fortunately, Wormskiold left the expedition at St. Peter and Paul, Kamchatka, before the *Rurik* headed for Hawaii.

Mystification pervades *Haimatochare's* epistolary fabric, which is stretched by Hoffmann over both hemispheres from Port Jackson, Australia, to London, with the center of the action located in Hawaii. Hoffmann mainly wanted to mystify the reader in regard to *Haimatochare's* identity. But he also modified, of fictionalized, other details which he came to know through Chamisso, not only for the excitement of artistic creativity, but for the practical purpose of dispelling similarities between his fiction and the facts of the *Rurik* expedition for which the official report had not yet been published.¹⁶

Hawaii had been visited twice by the *Rurik*. In 1816, the ship came from California and in 1817 from the Aleutian islands.¹⁷ In *Haimatochare* Hoffmann turns the approach to Hawaii around by 180 degrees and makes his scientists arrive from Australia, a continent which had not been visited by the *Rurik*. Also in contrast to the *Rurik* expedition, which had originated in the northern hemisphere at the Russian harbor of Kronstadt on the Baltic Sea,¹⁸ Hoffmann's ship is *not* on a voyage around the globe.

Hoffmann changes historical time into fictional time by indicating only the day and month on the top of the dated letters and leaving the last two digits of the year not specified. Thus he achieves vagueness of point in time—for his contemporary readers the events in *Haimatochare* could have happened at any time between 1800 and 1819—but, in spite of the loss of the identifying year the sense of time elapsing is preserved as the plot unfolds.

Through the choice of English names Hoffmann sets "his" expedition apart from the *Rurik's* and his selection of names reads like a *Who's Who in Hawaiian Exploration*, yet those names are not commented on in Hoffmann editions. His ship "*Discovery*"¹⁹ brings to mind the vessel by the same name that accompanied Cook's *Resolution* when he unexpectedly found Hawaii in 1778. Vancouver, in 1792, 1793, and 1794 had also come on a [different] *Discovery* to Hawaii. Vancouver had been accompanied by the *Chatham* under the command of Lieutenant William Broughton. Hoffmann borrowed, and modified, this officer's name for one of the rivalling naturalists in *Haimatochare*, "A. Broughthon." In 1796, the historical Broughthon returned to Hawaii as commander of the *Providence*, and as a special incident he described how "King Kamehameha visited the ship clad in European garments but with a beautiful yellow feather cloak almost entirely enveloping him."²⁰

Hoffmann's other scientist is named after the botanist on the Vancouver expedition to Hawaii, Archibald Menzies, who did extensive research in the islands and reputedly had a "passion for plants." Chamisso had an opportunity to inspect Menzies' collections in London during the layover of the returning *Rurik* in the summer of 1818 and he wrote about him as follows:

Archibald Menzies, the scientist on the Vancouver expedition made various botanical excursions onto the mountains of O-Waihi and Mauwi [Hawaii and Maui]. His collections are, together with many other treasures, still buried in Banks' [Sir Joseph Banks'] herbarium.²¹

"Bligh", the name which Hoffmann assigns to the captain of his "*Discovery*" is based on one of the most colorful men who sailed the Pacific: William Bligh. He came to Hawaii as Cook's sailing master on the *Resolution* and in 1778 he was chosen captain of the *Bounty*, where he became the target of the notorious mutiny.²² Hoffmann names "his" ship's surgeon, who rushes with "Captain Bligh" to the site of the duel, "Whidby" after Joseph Whidbey, who had been on many naval assignments with Vancouver. As master of the *Discovery* he was with Vancouver in Hawaii.²³

Also on board Hoffmann's "*Discovery*" is a "Lieutenant Colnett". He has a variety of duties. First he joins the captain and the surgeon on their sad search for the feuding scientists and at the end he has to prepare *Haimatochare* for her military funeral. Hoffmann borrows the name for this officer from Captain James Colnett, who wrote of himself "I never ceased to blend the zeal of naval character with the spirit of commercial enterprize [sic]." Captain James Colnett became involved in Spanish-British territorial conflicts in the Pacific North-West, traded furs in China and, around 1790, he visited Hawaii several times.²⁴

Hoffmann's "First Mate Davis" is the person closest to the rivals and, later on, to the object of their rivalry, Haimatochare. He carries messages between "Menzie's" and "Broughthon", notices their growing vexation and alerts the captain of the impending duel. Then he becomes the guardian of Haimatochare, keeping her in his cotton cap until the governor's decision about her fate arrives from Port Jackson. It may be assumed that this trustworthy man was named after Isaac Davis, a British seaman and the sole survivor of the schooner *Fair American*. Davis was taken under the protection of Kamehameha and became one of his first *haole* advisors. Chamisso mentions him in his *Bemerkungen*.²⁵

Even the recipient of "Menzie's" expansive letters, "E. [Edward] Johnstone" in London, is treated in style by Hoffmann. He seems to be the namesake of a seafarer to Hawaii to whom Chamisso refers as the "discoverer of the islands WSW of the Sandwich islands in 1807", James Johnstone, Master of the *Chatham* under Vancouver.²⁶

Besides the mysterious creature Haimatochare, Hoffmann populates Oahu with a cross-section of Hawaiian society: the royal couple, *alii* and common folk. However, only the king and the queen are delineated as individuals and have names. While the queen in *Haimatochare* bears the authentic name of the historical "First Lady of Hawaii" in 1819, "Kahumanu", her husband is not called Kamehameha as one would expect. Instead, Hoffmann labels her husband "Teimotu"—a name which Chamisso uses repeatedly to identify Kaahumanu's brother.²⁷ The king in *Haimatochare* plays a very passive role, as a husband and as a ruler, and he resembles more closely Chamisso's description of Liholiho, "weak and dull",²⁸ than Kamehameha, whom Chamisso considered one of the great men of his time.

Hoffmann's lovesick "Kahumanu" who is pursuing "Menzie's" reminds the reader of those queens to whom Chamisso and Eschscholtz were introduced in a *pili*-thatched house when they first arrived in Hawaii in November 1816.

They were all stretched out on the smooth ground which was padded with finely woven mats. We were urged to take our places among them. Being new to the islands I felt quite uncomfortable because of the glance of the queen next to me. When I noticed that Eschscholtz was quietly trying to get outside I followed him and then I learned that his queen had expressed herself in an even more obvious manner than mine.²⁹

In the same passage of his *Tagebuch* Chamisso makes it clear that Kaahumanu was one of these queens. He indicates that he had read Vancouver's report about his encounter with the young Kaahumanu twenty-five years earlier. At that time, Vancouver had stated: "Kaahumanu appeared to be about sixteen and was one of the finest women we had yet seen on any of the islands."³⁰ The illusory Haimatochare whom

Hoffmann conjures up for his unwary readers seems to be evoked by the image of such a young Kaahumanu—at least as seen through the eyes of a European writer of the Romantic era.

The absence of Kamehameha's name as "Kahumanu's" husband seems to reveal a pattern of avoidance of certain names in Hoffmann's little story which in turn might indicate an understanding, by the author, of the *kapu* concept. Kamehameha, Cook and Vancouver, who historically belong in the context of *Haimatochare*, have been left out, while the names of minor personalities from their entourage were included. Whether this selection of names was decided on by Hoffmann and/or Chamisso is hard to say—for Chamisso, it was undoubtedly a matter of respect, especially in regard to Kamehameha. "I am proud to have had the honor of a handshake with three of the great men of the past era—Kamehameha, Sir Joseph Banks and Lafayette", wrote Chamisso.³¹

Though Kamehameha does not appear by name in *Haimatochare*, there is a scene which might have had its origin in an incident during Kamehameha's life as a young ruler, as it had been recorded by Vancouver. In Hoffmann's work a scarlet cloak with gold embroidery, a present which had been sent by the "governor of New South Wales" along with the schooner, is given to "Kahumanu". This scarlet cloak makes a deep impression on "Kahumanu" and assumes such a power over her that she loses her usual serenity and becomes enraptured. Early in the morning she goes into the most solitary part of the forest and practices her dances and motions by throwing the cloak in this manner or in that on one shoulder or on the other and in the evening she entertains her court with these presentations.

So far the fiction. Historically, Vancouver describes how Kamehameha and his court had come aboard the *Discovery* in February, 1793. There Vancouver had presents ready but Kamehameha undertook the distribution of these presents himself. Afterwards he received, in addition to what he had gotten before, "a scarlet cloak that reached from his neck to the ground and was adorned with tinsel lace." In the cabin, mirrors were placed opposite each other displaying "the whole of his royal person; this filled him with rapture, and so delighted him that the cabin could scarcely contain him." He sent everybody out of the cabin, but soon followed them,

and after strutting some little time upon deck, he exposed himself in the most conspicuous places, seemingly with the greatest indifference, though in reality for the sole purpose of attracting the admiration and the applause of his subjects.³²

The use of an actual event and the shift of the person, from Kamehameha to "Kahumanu" as wearer of the gift cloak, indicates another creative modification by Hoffmann. The result serves two purposes: it

captures the mood of the infatuated "Kahumanu" and it presents her as authentically Hawaiian as Hoffmann was able to recreate.

Hoffmann's manner of presenting the mood of Oahu, the people and their special cultural traits is closely tied in with his intention to create a poetic illusion which he is going to destroy at the end. Thus there are two segments of *Haimatochare*. In the first, while the image of the lovely maiden named Haimatochare is built up, Oahu is an almost perfect paradise, but with sufficient dark spots to make it an interesting place. On Hoffmann's Oahu visiting naturalists search for hidden marvels, and in lovely glades and deeply shaded groves they spy on Hawaiian beauties. Conveniently all this happens a short distance from the comforts of the royal court where a benevolent, but slightly obtuse king grants his visitors every wish and his queen contributes to their entertainment.

But the island has its sinister aspect which exists not only in "Menziess'" dark premonitions but in cruel reality. Friends become deadly enemies, and not far from the verdant valley there is a desolate plain between Honolulu and the nearby volcano—an appropriate locale for a duel at dusk fatal for both combatants and unattended by any witnesses.

The women whom "Menziess" encounters on this island are of two different types. He falls for Haimatochare, who is young and ethereal, living a very private life on her feather carpet, while "Kahumanu" pursues him, even in public. Hoffmann associates the women with important Hawaiian cultural contributions: "Kahumanu" with the *hula* and Haimatochare, at least indirectly, with feather work. Here again, the connection with Chamisso's experience in Hawaii can be surmised. Chamisso relates two incidents in which objects of feather-work art play a role. In 1816, a party from the *Rurik* called on King Kamehameha at Kealakekua. During the conversation Captain von Kotzebue asked a favor of the King: he was eager to obtain a feather cloak for Czar Alexander. Kamehameha consented, had a cloak brought and presented it to Kotzebue.³³ Chamisso's second memorable encounter with Hawaiian feather-work took place on Oahu. After the meeting with Kamehameha, the *Rurik* had sailed to Honolulu where Kalaimoku took Chamisso as his guest to a *heiau* during a *kapu* period. At the *keiau* he saw and touched a red feather image under circumstances which he found puzzling enough to comment twice on them.³⁴

According to Chamisso's *Tagebuch* he also witnessed two *hula* performances which Kalaimoku had arranged for his visitors. Chamisso found them superior to the artificiality of contemporary European dance productions. To show that his judgement was unencumbered by sexual

appeal he emphasized his preference for the *hula* performed by male dancers.³⁵ Also in order to express his high esteem for the *hula* he compared it with the combined arts of poetry, music and dance in ancient Greece.³⁶

The second segment of the tale begins when "Captain Bligh" finally introduces the real Haimatochare in his report to the "governor of New South Wales." "Bligh's" description of the louse in Latin and in the vernacular betrays the hilarious enthusiasm of a neophyte entomologist. He is an amusing counterpart to the old Dutch lieutenant colonel in "Menzie's" first letter to "Johnstone" in London.³⁷ At the revelation of Haimatochare's true nature, "Davis" is the one who shows practical experience with such creatures. In this passage Hoffmann again draws on Chamisso's anecdotes, though this one is unrelated to Oahu. It seems that the expedition members became afflicted by lice whenever the *Rurik* moved into northern latitudes and they had to resort to a special ointment concocted by Dr. Eschscholtz.³⁸

The aspects of Hawaiian culture alluded to in the first segment of *Haimatochare*, namely dancing and feather craft, as well as necklaces and cloaks brought home by collectors in the Pacific, are pleasing to the *haole* taste. In the second segment, however, the cultural traits of the island become disturbingly unpleasant. The chanting and wailing by "Kahumanu" and the other Hawaiians during the funeral offends "Captain Bligh's" ear. Only simpler folk, like "Davis," with his cotton cap, can adjust to the Hawaiian ways—he too wails during his eulogy for Haimatochare which, in turn, induces the Hawaiians to join him. To heighten the grotesqueness of the final scene Hoffmann dwells on the Hawaiian custom of self-mutilation upon the death of an important person, and through unexpected exaggeration he gives it a typical Hoffmannesque twist. Instead of knocking out her front teeth as a sign of bereavement because of "Menzie's" death in the duel, "Kahumanu" uses an enormous shark tooth with which she inflicts an enormous wound onto her enormous buttocks. There is no reference in Chamisso to shark tooth implements or to the tradition of self-mutilation, though he mentions human sacrifice upon the death of a high chief as a disappearing custom.

Hoffmann's grotesque adaptation of Hawaiian traditions could be considered in very bad taste if he were not making a mockery of western customs likewise, especially in magnifying the discrepancy between the ostentatious military funeral and the minuteness of the object committed to the depth of the ocean. Above all, Hoffmann leaves it up to the reader to answer the question of which demonstration of mourning is more

misdirected—the “*Discovery’s*” cannon salutes for Haimatochare or “Kahumanu’s” wailing for “Menzie’s.”

Chamisso did not mind telling anecdotes which showed his own short-comings and errors, and Hoffmann apparently utilized one of them for his work. A parallel can be seen between an embarrassing incident during Chamisso’s sojourn on Oahu and “Menzie’s” decisive moment on the same island. Just as “Menzie’s” was looking for a rare *lepidopteron* in a lovely area near Honolulu, Chamisso had been searching through the “fertile valley behind Hana-ruru” for rare botanical specimens. Fortunately for Chamisso, his “rare find” which turned out to be experimentally planted rice, deflated only temporarily his professional pride and did not lead to a fatal duel, as in “Menzie’s” case. The seedlings which Chamisso had mistaken for some Hawaiian herb and plucked up for his collection belonged to the man from whom he expected enthusiasm for his unusual discovery, Don Francisco de Paula Marin, a gentleman-agriculturist who forgave Chamisso for his botanical error, but he did not forget the incident.³⁹

Contrary to “Menzie’s” who got sidetracked on his hunt for butterflies by the charms of Haimatochare, Eschscholtz, Chamisso’s congenial colleague, bagged a new species on Oahu. He described it in the *Rurik* report as “Vanessa Tameamea from Woahoo. Brown with vermillion bands and black spots” and indicated that it was named after “Tamaah-maah, the great hero and first king of all the Sandwich islands.”⁴⁰

The bird which is the host, or forms the “feather carpet” for Haimatochare, is specified by Hoffmann as a dove, which would be historically correct and gives his identification more credence. The introduction of rock doves to Hawaii can be traced back to 1794. The only bird which Chamisso mentions is an endemic one: “We noticed among landbirds the *Nectarinia coccinea*. Its feathers are highly valued and used for tax purposes.”⁴¹ He probably saw the *i’iwi*.

Though Hoffmann does not specify any plants, he conveys very well the fact that the forest behind Honolulu is not a jungle with giant trees. He differentiates the partly open area in the woods where “Menzie’s” finds Haimatochare from the very deep, very solitary part which serves as the practice ground for “Kahumanu’s” expressive dances. Again, Chamisso’s description indicates that the “plant growth *mauka* of the coastal plains is rich but not comparable to the luxuriant growth in Brazil.” He also distinguishes lighter and darker parts of the forest:

Only low trees follow the contours of the mountains down the valleys, among them *Aleurites triloba*. Their whitish foliage forms bushy clusters at the foot of the mountains and on the slopes. But here and there in the deep ravines between the mountains marvelous banana groves can be found, so dense that stem presses against stem and their leaves create a nocturnal darkness.⁴²

By writing *Haimatochare* Hoffmann created in 1819 a fictional event which antedated a corresponding event in Hawaiian history by three years. The case in point is the delivery of a schooner which had been repeatedly promised to Kamehameha—for the first time as early as 1794 by Vancouver. The basic information can be found in Chamisso's *Tagebuch*.

In 1816 we saw a letter to Tameiameia written by the Prince Regent of England in which the latter lauded His Majesty's attitude during the War of 1812. He thanked Tameiameia and indicated that in addition to the presents which had already been delivered to him a ship would be sent which the Prince Regent had ordered to be built at Port Jackson.⁴³

The correspondence referred to by Chamisso has been preserved in the State Archives of Hawaii.⁴⁴ Historically the long overdue fulfillment of this promise did not occur until 1822 under the reign of Liholiho. The British missionary William Ellis described how the schooner was transported from Port Jackson by the way of Huahine to Hawaii:

Tamehameha, who had governed the islands thirty years, and whose decease had taken place less than twelve months before the arrival of the Missionaries, had invariably rendered the most prompt and acceptable aid to those English vessels which had touched at the islands. In return for the friendship so uniformly manifested, the British government instructed the governor of New South Wales to order a schooner to be built at Port Jackson, and sent as a present to the king of the Sandwich Islands. In the month of February, 1822, his majesty's colonial cutter *Mermaid*, having in charge the vessel designed for the king of Hawaii, put into the harbour of Huahine for refreshments. The captain of the *Mermaid* offered a passage . . . to any of the Missionaries who might wish to visit the Sandwich islands. . . . I accompanied the deputation on their visit to Hawaii. . . .⁴⁵

In retrospect it is somehow amusing to visualize the fictional passengers "Broughthon" and "Menziez" and the historical passenger William Ellis side by side on their way to Honolulu.

Kuykendall summarizes the event in the larger context of Hawaiian foreign policy:

The schooner was delivered to Liholiho at Honolulu, May 1, 1822, by Captain J. R. Kent of the cutter *Mermaid*, in whose care it was brought to Hawaii; and on his departure from the islands a few months later Captain Kent was made the bearer of a letter in which the Hawaiian king thanked the ruler of the British empire for the gift of the *Prince Regent*, and informed him of the death of Kamehameha and his own succession to the throne. He added: "The whole of these islands having been conquered by my father, I have succeeded to the government of them, and beg leave to place them all under the protection of your most excellent Majesty; wishing to observe peace with all nations, and to be thought worthy the confidence I place in your Majesty's wisdom and judgement."⁴⁶

Like Captain Kent, Hoffmann's "Captain Bligh" stayed several months in Honolulu "in order to strengthen the cordial alliance."

A biographical note on the author of *Haimatochare* needs to be inserted at this point. One June 25, 1822, shortly after the British schooner *Prince Regent* had been presented to Liholiho in Honolulu, E. T. A. Hoffmann died in Berlin, paralyzed and in great physical discomfort, as he was preparing to dictate a passage of yet another tale.⁴⁷

In many ways *Haimatochare* is a typical tale of the Romantic era, even to the point of its genesis, for the literature of that period is full of works which were the result of creative collaboration. Also during the Romantic era, the feeling for other cultures developed, and in choosing Oahu, Hoffmann selected a place on the globe more distant than the locale of any of his other works. More carefully than most writers of his time, Hoffmann tried to present the local color of Oahu as precisely as possible, though the forest episodes in *Haimatochare* somewhat recall the *Waldeinsamkeit* [sylvan solitude] cliché of earlier writing conventions, where wanderers searched the woods for the *Blaue Blume*, the symbolic blue flower of the early Romantics.

Romantic curiosity which extends beyond the visible, the tangible and the rational is also present in *Haimatochare*. "Menzies" admits to his friend "Johnstone" that he is driven by forces other than his investigative instinct to go on the expedition. Another trait is the Romantic fascination with the power which beings and objects can assume over certain individuals: "Menzies" is mesmerized by *Haimatochare*, and "Kahumanu's" personality is changed not only by "Menzies'" presence but also by an object, the scarlet cloak which was sent to her as a gift.

Because Hoffmann treats the story with a light touch, he acknowledges half-heartedly, but tongue in cheek, the general predilection of the Romantics for nocturnal settings and moods. The three crucial moments in *Haimatochare* take place exactly between day and night: "Menzies'" fatal first encounter with *Haimatochare* occurs at sunset, which means at six o'clock p.m. at the latitude of Honolulu, in late December; the duel of the rivals is set for six p.m., and finally, *Haimatochare's* military funeral starts at six o'clock "sharp."

In addition to the irony that lies in the revelation of *Haimatochare's* true nature and in the grotesqueness created by the unexpectedly pompous details of the funeral, Hoffmann introduces a number of other exaggerations which are supposed to create a comical effect. There is "Broughthon's" "competent" assessment of "Kahumanu's" emotional depression and the incongruity between the "delicate" nature of her distress and the robust therapy—breakfasting on broiled fish washed down with gin and rum—which "Broughthon" administers to her.

The intense preoccupation of the Romantics in dual personalities is also treated as a subject for mirth. Even after her identification through

"Captain Bligh's" letter, *Haimatochare* continues to live two lives, as an entomological celebrity in her decorative cardboard box and as a pesky louse in the nourishing environment of "Davis'" cotton cap.

Haimatochare has been labelled by various critics according to its epic form, its dramatic solution and its size as "an exquisite grotesque,"⁴⁸ "a humours tale in letters,"⁴⁹ "a satirical tale"⁵⁰ and "a small tragically grotesque epistolary novel."⁵¹ Missing among its characterizations is the concept "Hawaiian fiction" which Philip K. Ige discusses in *Paradise and Melting Pot*. Ige mentions specifically the so-called "retrospective novels" in which "the writers" imagination and knowledge recreate the events, the place, the people, and the time" of earlier eras. Then he continues: "By 'Hawaiian' fiction we mean fiction about Hawaii written by Island residents and non-residents," expressing the assumption that

something of the place, the people or the spirit of the region about which they write will be mirrored in their creations, whether in the romantic or naturalistic or realistic modes.

In respect to Ige's discussion Hoffmann's tale attains additional interest, specifically when the following statement by him is also taken into consideration:

Since the first Hawaiian novel was written in 1857 there is no contemporary fiction for the first period, pre-Cook-1820.⁵²

Hoffmann's tale *Haimatochare*, written and published in 1819, seems to fulfill all requirements stipulated by Ige to be classified as Hawaiian fiction and to be considered as the earliest piece of Hawaiian fiction. These criteria would make *Haimatochare* also the only "contemporary" Hawaiian fiction for the pre-Cook to 1820 period.

NOTES

¹ Hoffmann's given names at birth were Ernst Theodor Wilhelm. Later he substituted the name Amadeus for Wilhelm in homage to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart—thus the initials E.T.A. before Hoffmann's family name.

² *Haimatochare*, Greek, specially coined name, meaning 'the one who enjoys blood.'

³ Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer, *Hoffmann: Author of the Tales* (Princeton, 1948), p. 140.

⁴ Adelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838) as a writer most famous for his tale about Peter Schlemihl, the man who sells his shadow without which he is not accepted by society.

⁵ Chamisso, however, never lost his interest in Hawaii. He wrote a classic on the Hawaiian language *Über die Hawaiiische Sprache* (Leipzig, 1837).

⁶ In this article Chamisso is quoted, and translated, from Adelbert von Chamisso, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Adolf Bartel (Leipzig, n.d.). Hereafter cited as Chamisso, *Werke*. Vol. III contains *Reise um die Welt 1815-1818, Tagebuch*; vol. IV contains *Reise um die Welt 1815-1818, Bemerkungen und Ansichten*.

- ⁷ Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery . . . 1815 . . . in the ship Rurick . . .* (London, 1821). Hereafter cited as Kotzebue, *Voyage*.
- ⁸ Chamisso, *Werke*, III.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 235. In *Werke*, IV, pp. 176, 178, 179, 187 Chamisso indicates that he had access to the works of Cook, King, Vancouver, Menzies, Turnbull, Lisianskoy on the subject matter of Hawaii.
- ¹⁰ *E.T.A. Hoffmanns Briefwechsel*, ed. Friedrich Schnapp (München, 1967), pp. 201-202. Hereafter cited as *Hoffmanns Briefwechsel*.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- ¹² *Der Freimüthige*, publ. by August Kuhn, vol. 16 (1819) No. 125, 127, 129, June 24, 26, 29.
- ¹³ Chamisso, *Werke*, III, p. 17.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, p. 18.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 32-33.
- ¹⁶ Chamisso sent Kotzebue his *Bemerkungen und Ansichten* in 1819, but the whole report was not published until 1821, and then in a form which made Chamisso quite unhappy.
- ¹⁷ Chamisso, *Werke*, III, pp. 113 and 186.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 11.
- ¹⁹ "Discovery". In order to indicate that a historical name is used fictionally by Hoffmann it is put in quotation marks.
- ²⁰ Peter H. Buck, *Explorers of the Pacific* (Honolulu, 1953), pp. 41-46. Hereafter cited as Buck, *Explorers*.
- ²¹ Chamisso, *Werke*, IV, p. 179.
- ²² Buck, *Explorers*, p. 30.
- ²³ George Vancouver, *A voyage to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* (London, 1798) v. I, p. XII. Hereafter cited as Vancouver, *Voyage*.
- ²⁴ James Colnett, *A Voyage to the South Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean 1798* (London, 1798), p. I.
- ²⁵ Chamisso, *Werke*, IV, p. 192. "In the European cemetery near Honolulu the following simple inscription can be found on Mr. Davis' grave: 'The remains of M. Isac [sic] Davis who died in this Island April 1810 aged 52 years.'"
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 193.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 183.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 183.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 118.
- ³⁰ Vancouver, *Voyage*, II, p. 122.
- ³¹ Chamisso, *Werke*, III, p. 117.
- ³² Vancouver, *Voyage*, II, p. 124.
- ³³ Chamisso, *Werke*, III, p. 119.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, p. 127; IV, p. 187.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 128.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 190.

- ³⁷ The old Dutchman with his entomological obsession seems to be identical with the author of the book, "*Swammerdamm*" to which "Menzius" refers in the same letter. Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680) was a Dutch naturalist, brilliant but somewhat strange. He made comparative studies of insect life stories, and his classifications are still valid. About thirty of his works were published and Chamisso might have brought some of them from London. Swammerdam wrote extensively about his work with lice. Hoffmann apparently became quite intrigued by him because he made him appear, after *Haimatochare*, in *Die Königsbraut*, 1821, where "Swammerdamm" and "Loewenhöck" are magicians who duel with telescopes, and in *Meister Floh*, 1822. Information on Swammerdam's life from A. Schierbeek, *Jan Swammerdam* (Amsterdam, 1967).
- ³⁸ Chamisso, *Werke*, IV, p. 185. In his official account of the "Principal sicknesses of the crew "during the three years voyage" (Kotzebue, *Voyage*) Eschscholtz did not mention any lice infestation.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 124; IV, p. 181. Ross H. Gast and Agnes C. Conrad, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* (Honolulu, 1973), p. 60.
- ⁴⁰ Kotzebue, *Voyage*, III, pp. 376-78.
- ⁴¹ Andrew J. Berger, *Hawaiian Birdlife* (Honolulu, 1972), p. 198; Chamisso, *Werke*, IV, p. 181.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 180.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 189.
- ⁴⁴ AH FO & Ex. 1816.
- ⁴⁵ William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, Hawaii* [London], [1842], Reprint (Rutland, Vermont, 1969), pp. 33-34.
- ⁴⁶ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854* (Honolulu, 1968), p. 76.
- ⁴⁷ *Der Feind* [The Enemy] which was published in the fall of 1823 in *Frauentaschenbuch für das Jahr 1824*, a literary yearbook.
- ⁴⁸ *Hoffmanns Briefwechsel*, p. 201, footnote 2.
- ⁴⁹ Eduard Grisebach, introduction to *E.T.A. Hoffmanns Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1900), p. LXXIX.
- ⁵⁰ Oskar F. Walzel in his introduction to *Chamissos Werke*, vol. 148, *Deutsche National Literatur*, ed. Joseph Kürschner (Stuttgart, n.d.) Reprint (Tokyo, 1974), p. LXXII.
- ⁵¹ Richard von Schaukal, *E.T.A. Hoffmann : Sein Werk aus seinem Leben* (Zürich, 1923), p. 165.
- ⁵² Philip K. Ige, *Paradise and Melting Pot*. Thesis, Columbia 1968, p. 39. See also James Jackson Jarves, *Kiana : a tradition of Hawaii* (Boston, 1857).